

The AMERICAN OBSERVER

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A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe



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Democratic Form of Government Studied

System Thought to Be Firmly Established after the War Now under Challenge

HAS WEAK AND STRONG POINTS

But Other Types of Governments Have Not Proved Superiority

This is the first of three articles on three systems of government which are competing for the mastery of the world—Democracy, Fascism and Communism. This article deals with Democracy.

When the American government was established nearly a century and a half ago, democracy was regarded as an experiment. Monarchy was the prevailing form of government. Kings, who were thought to rule by divine right, were sitting securely on their thrones in nearly every nation of the world. At least they thought they were sitting securely. The French Revolution was soon to break out and its influence was to spread over Europe. New ideas were in the air, but the idea that kings ruled over people by the grace of God was generally accepted. Since then democracy has gathered strength, and monarchy has declined. That process was going on throughout the nineteenth century. It continued during the first quarter of the twentieth century. By that time the old divine right monarchies were about gone. Japan was the only powerful nation where power still rested in the hands of a ruler who was presumed to exercise his authority by grace of God.

The War and After

Democracy swept forward during the nineteenth and early twentieth century and when the World War closed it seemed that rule by the people would soon be established as the accepted form of government throughout the civilized world.

Since then the picture has changed. The old-fashioned monarchy has not returned, but other forms of government have appeared in its place. Before the war was over Communism had been established in Russia. It has since been maintained in that country and it has won many followers in other lands. Not long after the war was over another system of government appeared. Another sort of dictatorship, Fascism, seized the reins in Italy. Now it is enthroned in Germany. As the nations of the world grapple with the depression, and as crisis after crisis appears, we hear questionings as to which system of government can best guide populations in such troublous times. Even in the democratic countries there are rumors of movements toward Communism or Fascism. To which of these systems of government does the future belong? What are the essential characteristics of each? What are the elements of strength and of weakness? These are some of the questions which we shall consider in the series of articles of which this one on democracy is the first.

What Is Democracy?

A democracy may be defined briefly as government by the people. If all the people, regardless of race or wealth or position or class, have a voice in deciding what shall

(Continued on page 7, column 1)



FIGURELLO H. LA GUARDIA

© Acme (P. & A. Photo)

Fiorello H. La Guardia Wins N. Y. Mayoralty Contest Over Tammany and McKee Forces

The sparks will fly in New York City after January 1, if newly-elected Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia's past record is any indication of what he will do at City Hall. Running on the Fusion ticket, in opposition to the Tammany machine and to former Mayor McKee's recovery party sponsored by Postmaster General Farley, Major LaGuardia was elected by a majority of more than 250,000 votes.

That the New York City government is scheduled for a shaking up such as it has not seen in at least twenty years is scarcely doubted by those who know the temper of LaGuardia. While a member of Congress he made a national reputation for himself as a fighter—a courageous, keen-minded defender of the common man.

The mayor-elect was born on the upper east side of New York, on December 11, 1882. His father was an army bandmaster, and young LaGuardia spent much of his youth in Western army posts. When he reached the age of twenty, he was appointed to service with the American consulate in Austria-Hungary. Later he became consular agent in Fiume, Italy, where he remained until 1906. He then returned to the United States and became an interpreter at Ellis Island, while studying law at New York University. In 1917 he was elected to Congress on the Republican ticket. But he did not stay there long for

he joined the army and was sent overseas. He resigned his position after the Armistice, and in 1919 was elected president of the Board of Aldermen in New York City. In 1922 he was again sent to the House of Representatives where he remained until last year's Democratic landslide.

It was during these ten years that Major LaGuardia built his national reputation. The impression he made on political circles in the capital city is attested to by Paul Y. Anderson who has sized him up in the *Nation* as follows:

LaGuardia's importance as a national figure was not fully realized by the House and the men who record its decisions until they were confronted in the last session with the gaping hole left by his retirement. I have seen some imposing figures removed from that lower chamber by defeat and death, but never have I known one whose absence was as keenly felt on every hand as was "the Major's." His bitterest enemies—and he never hesitated to make them—reluctantly conceded that he had "performed a useful function." As a matter of fact, the function which he performed is indispensable in a well-balanced legislative body. It consisted in subjecting every measure or proposal, regardless of party sponsorship, to the acid test of intelligent analysis, and in supporting or opposing it strictly on that basis. Many a time during the last session, when bewildered members were being asked to vote on bills they had not read or did not understand, they were heard to sigh: "If only the Major were here to tell us what this is all about."

NRA Law May Face Supreme Court Test

Many Question Constitutional Right of Congress to Regulate All Industry

SUPPORTERS CLAIM IT IS LEGAL

Justices Will Meet Difficult Problem if Case Requires an Interpretation

The NRA has been in effect now for several months. Codes have been set up under its authority and rules have been made and they are being operated. The NRA is affecting deeply the industrial life of the nation and it is affecting the lives of individual citizens. And yet, there is some question as to whether the NRA is really a part of the law of the land. Is it good law? Is it a law which the people are obliged to obey? Does it conform to the Constitution of the United States? If it does not conform; if it is unconstitutional, then it is not and has never been a valid law.

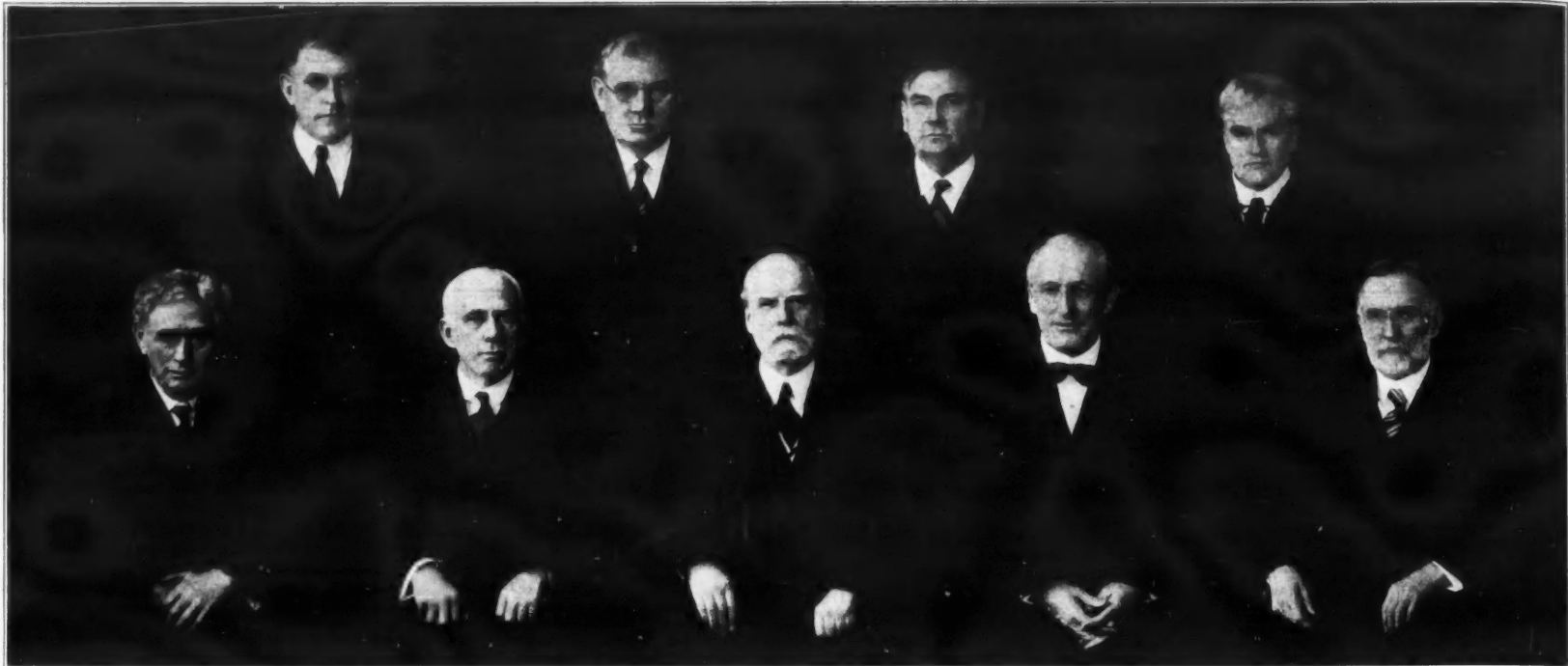
Laws and the Constitution

In case of a disputed law, we do not know for sure whether it is constitutional until it is brought before our courts and finally before the Supreme Court of the United States, which passes definitely on the matter. When a law is passed, the Court does not give its judgment as to constitutionality. It waits until a case comes before it. Someone, believing the act to be unconstitutional, refuses to obey it. Action is taken against him. The defendant goes to court claiming that the act which he has violated is unconstitutional and therefore not a legal act at all. The lower court gives its decision. This decision may be appealed until the United States Supreme Court is reached and then the Court decides whether the act is or is not in accordance with the Constitution. The NRA has not reached the Supreme Court. It has been questioned and has been sustained only in certain lower courts.

When the NRA stands before the United States Supreme Court with its constitutionality questioned, its advocates must find some authority for it in the United States Constitution. The National Recovery Act, we will remember, is an act of Congress. And Congress has only such powers as are given to it expressly by the Constitution. It is different with a state. A state legislature may do anything which the Constitution does not prohibit. But Congress, which is the legislative branch of the national government, can do only those things which it is expressly permitted to do.

What Congress Acted Upon

As we look at the Constitution of the United States, we come to a section outlining the powers of Congress. Article 1, Section 8, of the Constitution begins by saying that "Congress shall have power," and then eighteen different powers are granted. Now, Congress, by passing the National Recovery Act, is doing several things. It is fixing wages. It is fixing hours of labor. It is fixing prices. The codes which the NRA authorizes are doing all those things and Congress has declared in the act that these codes shall be en-



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THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT—THE TRIBUNAL WHICH WILL JUDGE THE NEW DEAL.
Left to Right: (Front Row) Associate Justices Brandeis, Van Devanter, Chief Justice Hughes, Associate Justices McReynolds and Sutherland.
(Back Row) Associate Justices Roberts, Butler, Stone and Cardozo.

forced by the authority of the national government. If the NRA is to be found constitutional, therefore, a power must be discovered which authorizes Congress to fix wages or hours or prices.

If we read down this list of powers, we see that Congress is given the power to lay and collect taxes, to borrow money, and then we come to another power—the third one mentioned—"to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states and with the Indian tribes." Then, there are a number of other powers, but we are not here concerned with them. If it is constitutional for Congress to fix wages or hours or prices, such power must be derived from the authority given to Congress to regulate commerce among the several states. To regulate and control the industries of the nation, prescribing rules under which they shall operate, the wages they shall pay, the hours they shall work, and the prices they shall establish—this may be taken as one means of regulating commerce among the states, for nearly all the products of the factories and shops and stores of the nation enter into interstate commerce.

It may be argued further that even local establishments, the products of which are not carried over state lines, must be regulated as a means of bringing about an efficient regulation of the industries of the nation in general. If an establishment carrying on a commerce across state lines is regulated and if a competing establishment, the trade of which is wholly within a state, is not regulated, the industry or establishment which is regulated may be put at a great disadvantage. So it may be argued that the regulation and control of all the industries of the nation, as practiced by the National Industrial Recovery Act, is a reasonable way of regulating interstate commerce. And if it is held to be a reasonable way of regulating commerce among the states, it may be declared constitutional.

Arguments

Those who believe that the NRA is unconstitutional will base their charge, first, upon the contention that the controls over all the industrial organizations of the country—the controls and regulations set up by the NRA—are not reasonable ways of regulating interstate commerce. At one time, Congress passed an act forbidding the product of any factory employing child labor from being carried across a state line. In this way, it undertook to forbid child labor by regulating interstate commerce. The Supreme Court held that this was not a reasonable way of regulating commerce, that really the regulation of commerce was not intended, but rather a control of labor conditions

within the states. So this child labor law was declared unconstitutional. And opponents of the NRA say that the regulations set up by the NRA will be declared unconstitutional in the same way.

Believers in the constitutionality of the NRA say, however, that while the prohibition of child labor was not primarily an act to regulate the commerce of the nation, the NRA control measures are primarily designed to regulate and control industrial conditions throughout the nation and conditions of trade among the states. They therefore hold that the reasoning which led to the overthrow of the child labor law will not lead to the upsetting of the NRA in our highest court.

"Life, Liberty or Property"

The constitutionality of the NRA will be attacked from another direction. In the fifth amendment to the United States Constitution there is a declaration to the effect that no person "shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution says that no state shall deprive any one of life, liberty or property without due process of law. Thus, both the national government and the state governments are forbidden to take away any one's property without due process of law; that is, without the usual action in the courts confiscating the property and taking it away by court procedure. Time and again, our courts have said that when any law regulates a man's business so as to interfere unduly with that business or so as to prevent the owner from making profits, it is depriving him of property, and time and again laws which regulated business practices have been thrown out on the ground that they took away property without due process of law. Thus, in the famous "Bakeshop" case in New York, a law passed by the legislature of New York limiting the hours of employment in bakeries was declared unconstitutional on the ground that it interfered with the property rights of the owners of bakeries. The decision even went so far as to say that the right of workers to make contracts to work any number of hours they saw fit was a property right, and that the fixing of hours of labor constituted a taking away of the property without due process of law.

If the Supreme Court should interpret the due-process-of-law clause of the Constitution in the same way as in certain of these cases, it would certainly throw the NRA out as unconstitutional. The codes set up under the NRA do interfere with the way business is carried on. In many cases they affect the profits of property owners, and it may easily be that the Court will declare that this act takes away

property without due process of law. It is, however, not certain at all that the Court will so decide. The Supreme Court has in many cases reversed itself. A decision made at one time will not necessarily be followed at another and the Court may not interpret the due-process-of-law clause so rigidly.

Public Interest

Here is something else that the advocates of the NRA are depending upon. The Supreme Court has admitted that Congress has power to regulate railroad rates or, in other words, to fix the price of railroad services, on the grounds that the railroads are "affected with the public interest." The way they are operated affects the public very directly and very deeply. The principle has therefore been established that businesses affected with public interest may be regulated constitutionally in a way that other businesses may not be. Now it may be fairly argued that in a grave national emergency such as that through which we are passing, practically all kinds of businesses are affected with a public interest and, for that reason, the Supreme Court may pass favorably upon the constitutionality of the NRA.

But the conflict here over this issue of the constitutionality of the NRA is something larger than merely a conflict over the interpretation of a clause of the Constitution. It is not merely a legal conflict. It is a conflict between two vast and tremendously important philosophies of government and of industry. There are many people in the United States who believe that, under conditions which exist today and which will continue to exist during the years to come, the government must regulate industry more closely than it has ever regulated it before. They believe that the day when private businesses could be managed largely as the owners saw fit has passed away. They think that there will be chaos in this country unless the government steps in to enforce industrial planning and control and unless the government maintains the power to see to it that property is used in the interests of all the people. They believe that through this government control of industry, and through such control alone, can civilization be saved from breakdown and chaos. They insist that a way must be found under the Constitution for the government to exercise this control of industry, and that if a way cannot be found under the Constitution, the Constitution must be changed.

Standing against this school of opinion, which we may call the liberal, is a school of opinion which we may call the conservative, though these terms do not precisely define the two forces. This latter

school of opinion holds that the government should not interfere with private business. Its advocates insist that business men should have the right to handle their concerns as they see fit, with certain minor regulations. In the increasing governmental control of industry, they see a development toward Communism. They think that such regulations as those imposed by the NRA, and such as those which may reasonably be expected to follow, threaten individual liberty and they think that they, too, are fighting to save civilization. They look to the Constitution as a bulwark which will prevent encroachments upon the rights of individuals over property. Many of those who hold this view are sincere in their beliefs. Others are thinking only of protecting their selfish interests from interference.

The Basic Conflict

These two conflicting schools of opinion are fighting the case of the constitutionality of the NRA. It is a dramatic battle—a battle of the century—which may soon be fought out before the United States Supreme Court. This Court may have the decision as to the direction of governmental policy in the years to come.

It is, however, not certain that the United States Supreme Court will have that decision. Perhaps it can affect the course of things only temporarily. If the people of the United States, or a great majority of them, are determined that our national government and our state governments shall control industry and give it direction, and if the Supreme Court declares that the national and state governments may not do so, the Supreme Court may be brushed aside.

There are two means by which the Supreme Court may be deprived of the privilege of blocking the national will. It is possible for Congress to pass an act increasing the number of justices. In that case, the president could appoint justices who would sanction the legislation desired by himself and Congress. This would, in a way, be a "packing" of the Court. It has been done before. It was done shortly after the Civil War. We do not predict that it will be done again, but there is such a possibility. Another possibility is that a constitutional amendment might be submitted to the states and ratified, taking away from the Supreme Court the right which it has assumed of declaring acts of Congress unconstitutional. It may be raised again with more decisive results if the people of the nation come definitely to the view that increasing regulation of industry is necessary and if the Supreme Court declares the legislative branch of the government incapable legally of putting such regulation into effect.

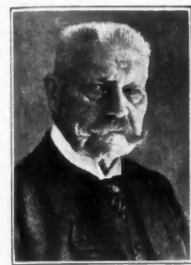
S this is written, the negotiations between Maxim M. Litvinoff, Soviet commissar for foreign affairs, and Washington officials on the question of recognition, are being conducted in the greatest secrecy. Nothing definite is known as to the progress of these conversations. But there is no indication of a serious disagreement between Mr. Litvinoff and President Roosevelt. Therefore, unless some unforeseen development arises, an agreement on the matter of recognition should be accomplished before THE AMERICAN OBSERVER reaches its readers.

That Everlasting Problem

The war debt discussions between the United States and Great Britain came to a close on November 7. An agreement was reached whereby Great Britain would make a "token" payment of \$7,500,000 on her December 15th installment. It was decided to hold up a permanent solution of the debt problem until "the unprecedented state of world economic and financial conditions" was improved.

German Plebiscite

As was fully expected, the German people supported the Hitler government's action of withdrawing from the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference.



PAUL VON HINDENBURG

Here is the question which was answered in the affirmative by 40,500,000 Germans in a plebiscite November 12: "Do you, German man or German woman, approve of the policy of your Reich government, and are you ready to acknowledge this policy as the expression of your own viewpoint and will, and solemnly to pledge yourself to it?"

The fact that 93 per cent of the German people pledged their support to Hitler indicates his powerful hold over the people. Of course, every one is aware that the recent German vote had not the slightest appearance of true democratic practice. All opposition parties had been throttled long before. Only a small percentage of Germans dared to vote against the government. So it is impossible to know what the majority of German people really think of their government. Such knowledge is never available in a country which is ruled by an iron-clad dictatorship.

Just before the German plebiscite, President von Hindenburg delivered a nationwide radio address urging the German people to back the Hitler government.

"New Deal" Train

The train pictured on this page was recently completed for the Texas and Pacific Railroad. It is symbolic of the modern trend in railway travel. Constructed of stainless steel, it is equipped with air-conditioning apparatus, rubber tires, and is gasoline driven. It will provide nearly fifty per cent more speed than the cumbersome two-car steam train it is replacing. Then, too, the gasoline-driven engine eliminates smoke and soot. The construction of this train is in line with the attempt being made by nearly all railway companies to compete more successfully with buses, automobiles and airplanes.

Work for 4,000,000

The Roosevelt administration has devised a plan to put a great many more people back to work. It is making arrangements to give 4,000,000 unemployed men work improving communities. These men will construct parks and playgrounds. They will clear creek-beds, clean up rural areas, as well as undesirable city areas, and do other tasks far too numerous to mention. By putting this plan into operation the administration feels that it is accomplishing two important services: (1) giving the unemployed jobs instead of charity, and (2) making it possible to put into effect much-needed civic improvements.

To carry out this enterprise, the administration has created the Civil Works Administration (CWA), under the leadership of Harry L. Hopkins, federal relief administrator. Mr. Hopkins will have about \$600,000,000 at his

Following the News

disposal. He does not intend to delay matters by "red tape." In fact, the CWA has already started functioning. On November 16, 2,000,000 unemployed men who had been receiving twenty dollars a month or less in the form of relief to care for themselves and their families were put to work at a wage something like fifty dollars a month. On December 1, another 2,000,000 will be put to work under similar conditions. Thus, according to the Department of Labor's estimates, there will be only about 4,000,000 persons out of work in the United States when this plan goes into effect.

German Maneuver?

A few days before the German election, General Hermann Wilhelm Goering, German minister of aviation, and one of Hitler's closest advisers, had a two-hour discussion with Premier Mussolini at Rome. It was reported that General Goering asked Premier Mussolini to sound out France and England on how they would feel about calling a meeting of the signatories of the Four-Power Pact to consider the general European situation. The Four-Power Pact, as will be remembered, was signed by Germany, Italy, France and England as a means of enabling these four countries to cooperate for the peace of Europe.

The German government is said to realize that it has turned virtually the whole world against Germany. For this reason German officials are reported to be anxious to win back foreign favor and they feel that they might begin such a move by a meeting of the Four-Power Pact. England and France, however, are known to be determined to work for disarmament and European peace through the machinery of the League of Nations, rather than through the Four-Power Pact which would exclude small powers. It is not believed that Herr Goering's overtures to Mussolini will bear fruit.

Ford Found Eligible

Henry Ford is eligible for government contracts, according to a ruling recently made by Controller General McCarl. Mr. McCarl declared that Mr. Ford and his agents cannot be refused the right to sell cars to the government until the NRA has presented concrete evidence that the Ford Motor Company has violated the automobile code.

Secretary Hull Sails

Secretary of State Hull sailed November 11 for the Pan-American Conference, which is to be held at Montevideo, Uruguay, December 3. Mr. Hull said upon his departure that "our twenty-one nations with 240,000,000 population and their younger civilization" are in a position to furnish the older civilization of 450,000,000 Europeans "an example of high accomplishment by which the European nations may greatly profit."

The conference received a definite setback a short time ago when President Roosevelt decided that tariff problems could not be considered by the American delegation at the conference. However,

the president stressed the point that just as soon as world conditions improve, closer economic relations between Latin-American countries would be considered by the United States government.

One feature on the conference agenda which promises to achieve success is that dealing with better facilities for transportation and communication, thereby linking the various American nations more closely. President Roosevelt plans to ask Congress for a \$500,000 appropriation for the purpose of making a scientific survey of a Pan-American Highway from the border of Texas to Santiago, Chile. Such a highway will be discussed at the conference. The United States government is also anxious for better railroad connections between the various countries. It has been suggested, too, that beacon-light systems should be installed, so that the flying schedule from Miami, Florida, to Buenos Aires could be reduced from seven to three days.

Australia Plans Race

Australia is planning to stage a spectacular air race next year. The race will start from that country and end in England, a distance of about 10,000 miles. Large money prizes will be awarded to those aviators in the first division. Definite plans and rules will be announced at a later date. The chief purpose of this race will be to stimulate interest in the proposed air route between Australia and England.

U. S. Opposes Manchukuo

The League of Nations' Manchurian Advisory Committee recently made recommendations as to how the League could make effective its policy of not recognizing the Japanese-created state of Manchukuo. The United States government not only supported the committee's recommendations but it asked that the recommendations be strengthened in certain respects. Therefore, the Roosevelt administration has made clear its intention of continuing our government's past policy of ignoring the existence of Manchukuo.

National Prohibition Ended

The prohibition amendment was repealed by popular vote November 7. On that day the people of six states—Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Utah—elected delegates to the state conventions which will formally register their decision a short time later. Four of these states elected delegates favorable to repeal, bringing the grand total of states in the repeal column to thirty-seven, one more than the necessary number to remove the prohibition amendment from the Constitution. But North Carolina and South Carolina cast their votes in favor of prohibition. Thus, out of thirty-nine states which have voted on this issue up to now, two so far have upheld prohibition.

However, according to the present lineup, when prohibition is legally repealed on December 5, only nineteen states will al-

low the sale of distilled liquors. All the rest have prohibition laws which are not affected by national legislation. So the problem of preventing the shipment of liquor into "dry" states will be a difficult one to handle.

Then there will be the question of law enforcement in the "wet" states. Ten of these states have already taken action in the attempt to prevent the return of "saloon" evils. Moreover, the Roosevelt administration is tackling the problem of liquor taxation. It is said to be in favor of liquor taxes low enough so as to make bootlegging unprofitable.

Wallace Invades West

Secretary of Agriculture Wallace was on a speaking tour of the Middle West a few days ago. He denounced the farmers' holiday movement which calls upon farmers to withhold their agricultural products from city markets, and he urged the farmers of the nation to cooperate with the administration's farm program. He said that the administration's farm policies have accomplished more in eight months than had been accomplished in the twelve preceding years. In attacking the farm holiday movement in a speech delivered at Des Moines, Iowa, Secretary Wallace said:

You can't get more of the consumers' dollar by keeping milk away from his children, and you certainly don't win him to the cause of the farmer. In the last few months city people have acquired a new sympathy for the farmer's battle for justice, but let a few more buildings be destroyed, a few more heads cracked and a few more milk trucks upset and I greatly fear that the reaction among consumers will be anything but helpful to farmers generally.

Perhaps worst of all is the division in the ranks of the farmers themselves, a division that, if it is not being nourished, at least is being applauded by reactionary forces hostile to agriculture. Isn't it about time we stopped playing into the hands of people who are now, always have been and always will be, against agriculture?

He said that the ultimate goal of the administration is to boost farm income from last year's \$5,000,000,000 to \$11,000,000,000. But, he declared, such a rise must come slowly and a similar rise in city workers' income must come simultaneously. It is Mr. Wallace's opinion that if the farmers of the nation cooperate in reducing their acreage they would be amply rewarded.

Cuba Revolts Again

Opponents of the Grau government in Cuba participated in an unsuccessful revolution on November 8. They did their utmost to overthrow Dr. Ramon Grau San Martin, who has established a military dictatorship over Cuba. Fierce fighting occurred between the rebels and the government troops for several days. More than 300 Cubans were killed in the bloody conflicts which took place. Although hundreds of lives have been lost in Cuba during the last two or three chaotic years, the recent revolution was the worst in the history of the republic.

The opposition to the Grau régime is based on the ground that he is not taking radical enough measures in dealing with the chaotic economic situation in Cuba. He is accused of trying to protect American business interests in Cuba at the expense of the Cuban people. Many of his opponents demand that he turn back to the Cuban people land now owned by foreigners, mostly Americans, and that he establish a government based on socialistic principles—a government which will lift the great majority of Cuban people out of their present state of general and abysmal poverty.

It seemed last week, however, that the Grau government, backed by the army, had succeeded in quelling the revolutionary activities. A number of the Cuban rebels were called before a military tribunal and were confronted with the penalty of death.



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HENRY A. WALLACE



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LATEST DEVELOPMENT IN TRANSPORTATION—THE "NEW DEAL" TRAIN

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VOL. III WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1933 NO. 12

New Responsibilities of the Schools

It is easy enough to say that we are passing through a great crisis in the history of our country and of the world. We have grown accustomed to that statement. We are beginning to realize that probably the conditions of life will be very different in the years to come from what they have been in the past.



GEORGE S. COUNTS

It is likely that the years of easy prosperity which we enjoyed in the nineteen-twenties will not return. When prosperous times do return, it is likely to be under very different conditions. Industry is likely to be organized very differently, and it is very probable that the government of this country and the governments of the world will do many things which they have not been doing.

All this we understand in a general way, but probably most people have not stopped to think very carefully about what it means to them and about what course they should take to meet the new situation. What should the schools do in the light of these changing conditions? That is the subject of a very thoughtful article in the November 20 issue of THE CIVIC LEADER by Dr. George S. Counts, of Teachers College, Columbia University. Dr. Counts, who is a member of the editorial board of the Civic Education Service, thinks that the schools should prepare a citizenship fit to grapple with the new problems of the coming years. In studying the NRA and the other recovery measures, the students should learn to see this program of recovery in its historical perspective. Speaking of the obligation of the school, he says:

The school must not be content, however, with the presentation of the historical background of the NRA. It should also seek to clarify the issues involved and to illuminate the entire question with the light of criticism. Clearly the policies of the present administration do not constitute the final members of a long historical sequence. On the contrary, there is ample room for believing that the major battles for the reconstruction of economy and government lie ahead. The various recovery acts, by encouraging the formation of trade associations, the unionization of labor, the organization of agriculture, and united action among consumers, may be expected to bring out into the open differences in interest which have long existed. The American people will consequently be compelled to give increasing thought to the question of the controlling purposes of the economy. They will have to decide whether their vast and powerful productive mechanism is to be employed rationally and efficiently in raising the material well-being and security of the great masses of the people or whether it will be devoted primarily to the service of some highly privileged class. This question has not yet been answered, except in the



THE END OF AN ERA
—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis POST-DISPATCH

most general phrases. It is the old question of distribution, the question that has given rise to revolutionary doctrines and movements in the industrial nations. A fundamental obligation of the school is to prepare its pupils to participate intelligently and in the general interest in the great struggle for power which the coming years would seem to hold.

"The Devil's Joke"

Frequently we quote outstanding editorials on this page from the newspapers of the country. The paper which we perhaps lean most heavily upon for these editorials is a small newspaper in a little country town of the Middle West, the Emporia Gazette. The reason is that the editor of the Gazette, William Allen White, is one of the few deservedly famous editors of the country. Here is his Armistice Day editorial:

Fifteen years ago today came the Armistice, and we all thought it was to be a new world. It is! But a lot worse than it was before.

Ten million men were killed, as many more maimed, 50 billion dollars worth of property destroyed, the world saddled with debt.

And for what?

What was the good of it? Four years of peace would have made a better world.

Would it have been any worse if Germany had won? Ask yourself honestly. No one knows.

Is this old world as safe for democracy as it was before all these lives were lost?

There is no democracy east of the Rhine. Tyrants have risen where constitutional monarchs ruled 20 years ago. In America democracy is threatened by gunmen and racketeers. Big greedy plutocrats are undermining government at the top, while dirty underworld rats are gnawing at the foundations below.

The boys who died just went out and died. To their own soul's glory of course—but what else?

The slacker who stayed at home is getting the jobs and piling up the rocks and ducats. About the largest hawhaw that the world has is for the poor patriotic plodder who did his bit. The goddess of liberty might well have cried, "Hello, sucker!" to her devotees in the war. For liberty lost the war. No one won it.

Yet the next war will see the same hurrah and the same bowwow of the big dogs to get the little dogs to go out and follow the blood scent and get their entrails tangled in the barbed wire.

And for what?

Look at Russia ruled by the proletarian tyrants!

Behold Germany governed by paranoiac Sadists!

Italy has lost her liberties to fill her stomach and enthrone the rich!

Poland, the Balkans, and central Europe—a super powder magazine—waiting for the match to blow civilization back to the dark ages.

America?—read the newspapers.

What a glorious war! All wars are like that. The next one will be worse.

War is the devil's joke on humanity. So let's celebrate Armistice Day by laughing our heads off.

Then let us work and pray for peace, when man can break the devil's chains and nations realize their nobler dreams!

A Rough Road

Those who have the responsibility of guiding the American government and the American nation at a time like this—guiding it, as they hope, in the direction of recovery—must travel a very rough road. The way to recovery is not clear. As we pointed out last week, the government cannot stand still. It is obliged to act, for conditions develop which call for positive and sometimes for bold measures. If these measures are not taken, serious crises may develop. If, on the other hand, they are taken, they may have unintended effects and may produce new crises. Those who have the government in charge are obliged, therefore, to act cautiously and boldly at the same time. They are obliged to keep their heads and, at the same time, their courage. The recent action of the government in making gold purchases for the purpose of raising prices (see AMERICAN OBSERVER, November 8) is an illustration of the difficulties we have mentioned. Since that policy was inaugurated, the value of the dollar has declined, and the prices of many commodities have advanced. So far so good. These results are in line with the administration's purpose. They have avoided the crisis which was developing, owing to the fact that farm prices were going down. They give promise of relief to debtors.

But there have been results which are not so pleasant. The future value of the dollar is thrown into doubt. People who have money to lend hesitate to lend it. One does not like to lend a dollar today if he thinks that when it is paid back it will be worth much less than it is now. Neither do government bonds seem such an attractive investment. One who has money to invest may hesitate to buy government bonds if he thinks that when the government pays him back it will pay him in dollars which have a smaller buying power. Hence the price of government bonds has fallen.

This is a fairly serious matter. The government is spending vast sums of money on relief. It is spending



SOME KIDS JUST WON'T STUDY THEIR SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSONS

—Darling in N. Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE

a great deal on construction work. It may feel the necessity later of increasing the fund used in public building. Where is it to get the money to carry on these operations? It has been borrowing. It has been selling bonds. But suppose people quit buying bonds; then where will the government get the money except by taxation; taxation so heavy as practically to ruin all those who still have incomes?

The problem, though serious, need not be terrifying. There are a good many things which the government can do to hold up the price of bonds and to make them an attractive investment. The administration has not shot its last bolt yet, by any means. The general feeling in Washington is that the situation, though it calls for concern, does not call for great alarm. There is every evidence that President Roosevelt is keeping his head. He is not heedless. He is listening to counsel. He has done much to show himself worthy of confidence. He is traveling a rough road, but he is proceeding with his eyes open.

Faith in Democracy

This week we begin in THE AMERICAN OBSERVER a series of three articles on three great philosophies of government—Democracy, Fascism and Communism. Each reader may well make the study of these articles the occasion for an examination of his own faith in democratic government. Do you believe in the principle of democracy? Do you believe that all questions, great and small, should be settled by free choice of all the people? You do not believe, of course, that the people will always settle each problem wisely; but do you believe that, on the whole and in the long run, the people are to be trusted? Do you think they should be allowed to discuss freely and openly all kinds of problems? If every sort of question which comes before a government can be turned over to the people for free and full consideration, will a majority of the people handle these problems wisely most of the time?

Is your faith in democracy so strong that you resent the attempt by any group of people to keep other people from hearing about certain kinds of problems and from discussing them freely? Do you believe that even a minority should have a right to express its views? Do you have confidence that if all sorts of minorities are allowed to advocate their views the majority of the people can be trusted in the long run to accept only those views which are sound? Do you stand, therefore, absolutely for free speech and a free press? Do you object when the attempt is made to throttle free speech or a free press, or to keep any element of the people from expressing their views? If you will ask yourself these questions, you will be able to test your own faith in democracy.

Now that Halloween has passed, we'd like to swap a 40-foot extension ladder for two gates and an ash can.
—Omaha WORLD-HERALD

The Republican National Committee has opened fire upon the Roosevelt program. This disposes of the popular belief that the elephant is an extinct animal.
—NEW YORKER

A Pennsylvanian has smoked the same pipe for twenty years and is reported hale and hearty. But what about the other people in the house?
—Macon TELEGRAPH

Dennett Gives Fresh Picture of John Hay

Biographer Presents Scholarly Appraisal of Career of Famous Statesman

THE key to an understanding of our relations with foreign nations at the turn of the present century—when such important achievements as the enunciation of the open-door policy, the clearing of the way for the construction of the Panama Canal, and the settlement of various issues with Great Britain—is to be found in the career of one of our greatest secretaries of state, John Hay. A newly published biography of Hay, written by Dr. Tyler Dennett (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, \$5.00), uncovers much new material and offers a fresh appraisal not only of Hay, the man, but of the numerous policies of which he was the exponent.

The greatest part of this book by far is devoted to the public career of John Hay, first as American ambassador to England under President McKinley, and later as secretary of state under McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. It was during this period that some of the most important decisions in our history had to be made—decisions which have, at least many of them; been subjected to sharp criticism by later historians. Mr. Dennett traces step by step these developments, showing clearly the role played by John Hay. In treating his subject as a public figure, the author refuses to indulge in hero worship. He casts a critical eye over Hay's activities and policies, and fails to condone what he considers to be serious errors. This book is a conspicuous example of high scholarship, scientific method and complete detachment in the field of biography.

England under Charles I

"Charles the First, King of England." By Hilaire Belloc. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott. \$4.00.

CHARLES I, second member of the House of Stuart to ascend the throne of England, is treated sympathetically, if not somewhat romantically, in this new study by the author of similar biographies of Richelieu, Napoleon, Wolsey and other figures of European history. While it is an extremely readable and interesting treatment of the English and Scottish sovereign, the reader will find that many factors in Charles' reign are ignored by the writer. Mr. Belloc starts out with a definite thesis as to the causes of the civil wars of which Charles was destined to become the victim, and attempts by the recital of events to bolster up that

case. Undoubtedly his point of view is partially correct, but to conclude that the debacle which resulted in Charles' downfall and the rise to power of Oliver Cromwell was due primarily to the demand for power on the part of the landed gentry would appear to be an oversimplification of the case. However, the book does paint a vivid picture of a critical period of English history, and is written in a forceful and attractive style.

The Story of Medicine

"Behind the Doctor." By Logan Clendening. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.75.

THERE is every reason to believe that this book of Dr. Clendening's will prove as popular as his "Human Body." Here are 469 pages of stories about the people who, working through the centuries, have developed the science of medicine. As Dr. Clendening says:

Behind the doctor so many centuries, so many stories, so many people. I see them crowding around him, a great throng of old ghosts, as he walks into the room. . . . All these and thousands of others are behind the doctor. Vivid people in their day, full of hopes, and interests and queer notions. Do you want to hear some of their stories? Do you want to come with me beyond the present, back to see what is behind the doctor?

Many, doubtless, will want to accept the invitation. They will find a well-organized account of the progress of a great science, written in a manner understandable to the average man who would otherwise be bewildered by technical terms. An abundance of illustrations contribute to the attractiveness of the book.

Man and the Machine Age

"Karl and the Twentieth Century." By Rudolf Brunngraber. New York: William Morrow. \$2.50.

FROM 1880 onward the tide of industrial civilization swept through Europe and America. Technical efficiency and the development of fabulous machines broke down old conceptions of economics, finance and politics, as well as industry. The collapse of the old order and the flood of new methods, new purposes and new ideals combined to bring confusion and chaos. The climax came with the World War and the economic crises which followed.

This is the setting in which Rudolf Brunngraber chooses to place his "hero," Karl. A young Viennese, like the author himself, Karl typifies the tiny individual of the twentieth century. His life, from childhood through the war and after, is almost entirely devoid of individual choice such as he might have enjoyed in an earlier time.

Brunngraber is a recently discovered

Austrian writer. His book devotes as much attention to the terrific readjustment of the economic world and of all the nations as it does to Karl. The novel is valuable not only in grasping the story of Karl and millions like him, but in learning how to operate our individual and social lives in such a way as to escape the bitter fate of Karl and the early decades of the century in which we live.

British Stories

"The Best British Short Stories—1933." edited by Edward J. O'Brien. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.50.

THE yearly collection of the best British short stories almost always falls below the similar collection of American stories in quality. This group is no exception. There seem to be no British story writers contributing to magazines any work which approaches that of Erskine Caldwell, George Milburn, Morley Callaghan, or a dozen other young Americans.

The stories in this volume are examples of competent writing, according to the standards of the popular magazines and of the literature of twenty years ago. But there is no feeling in them for the drama of native life, as there is in the new American short stories. Most of these writers still depend for a central theme upon some purely fantastic happening. The story by Neil Bell in which the chief character enjoys the power to fly merely by flapping his arms is a typical example. Such tales are simply flights of the imagination adequately written; they are not interpretations of life as we know it. Perhaps, as Mr. O'Brien states in his foreword, Great Britain needs only such a venture as *Story* magazine to develop a group of excellent young writers. In that case he may be able in the future to collect something better than the pleasant but unimpressive work in this book.

A Prize Winner

"No Second Spring" by Janet Beith. New York: Stokes. \$2.50.

THIS book was the winner of the \$20,000 International Prize Competition a few months ago and presents a new novelist to the reading public. Miss Beith has written a simple story, one that has often been told before. The central theme is the conflict between love and duty—dramatized in the life of her heroine. It is not, however, the exceptional nature of the plot but the excellence of the treatment in the hands of this young writer that makes this novel conspicuously outstanding in the field of fiction. Miss Beith will bear watching as a novelist of the younger generation for she displays a masterful grasp of the art of writing and throughout "No Second Spring" shows herself a stylist of rare quality. She displays great ability in probing the inner depths of her principal characters with richness and completeness.



PASTEUR IN HIS LABORATORY
(An illustration in "Behind the Doctor.")

FROM CURRENT MAGAZINES

"The Hapsburgs See a Glimmer of Hope," by Ernest von Hartz. *The Baltimore Sun Magazine*, November 12, 1933. On the fifteenth anniversary of the Austrian Republic, with the country in a state of bitterness under martial law, the pretender to the Austrian crown, Archduke Otto of Hapsburg, son of the last ruler of the empire, Charles IV, watches developments from his exile in Louvain, Belgium. If Dollfuss and his supporters are unable to withstand the force of Nazism, it is possible that Otto will be recalled to Vienna. In such an event, one of the most serious crises in post-war European history would very likely be provoked because of the widespread opposition throughout Europe to the restoration of the Hapsburg dynasty. In this drama, both Hitler and Mussolini may be expected to play conspicuous roles.

"Litvinov," by Elias Tobenkin. *Asia*, December, 1933. "Maxim Maximovitch Litvinov is the most acid but at the same time the most human diplomat that post-war Europe has produced. . . . This super-diplomat is blunt, opportunistic, skeptical. He is often inconsistent in his methods and tactics, but he is always faithful to his policies. Merciless in political argument, blustering and sarcastic even toward the foremost political leaders of his time, Litvinov is as helpless as a child in matters of personal finesse or individual propriety. He is an imposing, even leonine figure on the platform, but horribly self-conscious in the drawing-room."

"The Little Man's Fate in Germany," by Ludwig Lore. *Current History*, November, 1933. It was largely the middle class—the shopkeeper, the white collar worker, the small merchant, the small farmer—that placed Hitler in control of the German government, and consequently it is that class which expects tangible results in the way of improved conditions. Up to the present, the Nazis have failed to give the middle class anything but a great show of military glamour, and its economic status has not been improved. This class is beginning to show signs of discontent and to realize "that of all the glorious promises of yesteryear nothing remains but this show of force, this as yet invincible ruthlessness that tears down but does not build, that has broken with the past but has no vision of a better future."



THE DEATH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

A portrayal by E. H. Miller showing John Hay in the foreground. (Illustration in "John Hay.")

New Deal for Indians Asked by Collier

**Bureau Head Calls for Additional
Land and Many Reforms
for Red Man**

Many summers ago, and winters, too, before the white man came, the red man possessed the land. The forests primeval were his, the streams that teemed with fish, and the sweeping prairies where roved the wild buffalo and coyote. Happy were his hunting grounds, and bright the fires that flared from his tribal circle in time of feast and victory. Strong, he was, as the oak that bares its breast to the tempest, and swift as the panther. The moon and the stars and the rain, he knew, were the magic of Gitchie Manito the Mighty.

After many moons had waxed and waned, the red man saw pale faces wrench the silent sentinels of the forests primeval from their age-old posts; scoop back the waters of the streams behind great walls; plow through the trackless prairies with a puffing monster that drove the buffalo and coyote to their lair; carve city streets out of the sacred paths of the hunting grounds. Lower burned the tribal fires until disconsolate embers told a story of subjugation.

No legend is this that is here briefly recounted, but, rather, threads of fact that weave their way through our American history. Pale faces possess the land, and the red man looks to the Great White Father at Washington for protection. That is how it happens that the commissioner of Indian affairs, appointed to this post by the Great White Father, has such an important task to perform.

When John Collier, born of Georgia parents, and student of biology and psychology, started upon his career some years ago, he little dreamed that it would lead him to the center of the red man's councils. He was interested in social problems in New York, and served in positions that aided for civic betterment. And then he went to California where such things as immigration and housing claimed his attention. But not for long. When Franklin D. Roosevelt, the present "Great White Father," took office, he called John Collier to be commissioner of Indian affairs.

Only 225,000 Indians remain of the original stock that possessed our land. They are scattered in some 200 reservations over the country. The Indian Bureau, under the direction of the commissioner, is trying to look after the health, wealth and education of these "first Americans." Whereas it has been charged in the past that the American In-



A BLACKFOOT BRAVE SMOKES HIS PIPE IN THE LIGHT OF HIS TEEPE ON THE GOVERNMENT RESERVATION IN GLACIER PARK, MONTANA

dian has been made a subject of exploitation on the part of the government as well as individuals, those who look at the past works of John Collier see in him an individual who will devote himself to the interest of the red man.

What are several of the commissioner's aspirations for the Indians? Here are three of them: that Indians shall be trained to fill the places in the Indian service; that more lands shall be given the red man for agriculture; that day schools may be established on the reservations where the children may be taught in their own home territory instead of being sent off to distant boarding schools.

Democratic Form of Government Studied

(Concluded from page 7, column 4)

States the right of all the people to speak freely and write freely, is written into the Constitution, while in England the right of free speech and press dates back many generations.

Democracy of this kind, however, is always in danger. There are many people in each democratic country who do not accept the notion that all issues should be decided freely by all the people. They are willing that all the people, whatever their

views, should have the right to express these views freely if the issues are not important. They are willing to have democracy of the sort which has been decreed in Great Britain and the United States when things run smoothly. But when crises come and large issues appear, they do not want to maintain the democratic principle that every issue shall be decided by the free choice of all the people.

The English people come very close to this conception of democracy in their practices. A strong majority there opposes Communism strongly; yet Communist speakers are allowed to speak freely and to teach their doctrines without hindrance. Pacifists and militarists, capitalists and workers, peoples of all shades of religious belief, are allowed to write and speak and advocate their causes, and very seldom are public meetings or demonstrations of any kind forbidden because of the unpopularity of the causes. But in nearly every country there are different classes of advocates of democracy: those who wish to go the whole way, permitting complete freedom of choice to the people on even the most fundamental matters; and those who would go but part way, allowing freedom on smaller matters by asserting the right of the majority to hush minorities when the issues are vital, or when unpopular minorities are making great gains.

How does democracy stand in the world today? Some of its advocates are pessimistic. Democracy has grown, it is true, at the expense of the old-fashioned monarchies, but lately dictatorships of one sort or another have appeared in one country after another, and so we hear people speaking as if democracies were on the wane. Some seem to think that dictatorships will be established after a while in the United States, Great Britain, and the remaining democratic countries. On closer examination, however, the case of democracy does not seem so bad. The countries which have lately gone over to dictatorships have never practiced democracy wholeheartedly. Democracy has never been strong in Germany. It has not been practiced in Russia. For a number of years before the Fascist revolution in Italy, that country had been developing along democratic lines, but had no long-established democratic tradition. The strongholds of democracy have been in the United States, Great Britain, France, Switzerland, and several of the smaller nations of Europe. The strongly democratic governments are continuing the practice of democracy. What the months or the years may bring in a period of change and crisis such as the present, no man can tell, but at this moment there seems no immediate prospect that any of the traditionally democratic nations will abandon the democratic system.

A List of References on American and British Broadcasting Systems

We are reprinting below a release sent out by the United States Office of Education dealing with the problem of radio broadcasting, a subject about which we have received many questions from our readers:

In response to numerous requests for material on the debate question, **RESOLVED: That the United States Should Adopt the Essential Features of the British System of Radio Control and Operation**, the Office of Education is issuing this select list of references. No material on the subject is available from the Office of Education.

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2. ***Aly, Bower and Shively, Gerald D. **DEBATE HANDBOOK**. Columbia, Mo., Staples Publishing Co., 1933. 224 p. 75c.
3. ***Aly, Bower and Shively, Gerald D. **SUPPLEMENT TO THE DEBATE HANDBOOK**. Columbia, Mo., Staples Publishing Co., 1933. 224 p. 75c.
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Division of Bibliography, U. S. Library of Congress. Free.

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8. **Buehler, E. C. **AMERICAN VS. BRITISH SYSTEM OF RADIO CONTROL**. New York, N. Y., The H. W. Wilson Co., 1933. 361 p. 90c.
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15. Lingel, Robert. **EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING: A BIBLIOGRAPHY**. Chicago, Ill., The University of Chicago Press, 1932. 162 p. \$1.50.
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*Good source material. Parts bear directly on the debate.
**Prepared especially for the debate.
***The official debate handbook.



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IN A DEMOCRACY IT IS THE PEOPLE WHO DOMINATE

Democratic Form of Government Studied

(Continued from page 1, column 1)

be done, the government may be described as being democratic. Of course, each person cannot have his way in a democracy. In many cases there will naturally be disagreement. Then the decision is made by counting the people in favor of one course or the other. The majority rules. A democracy may therefore be said to be a government by majorities.

Nobody has even pretended that democracy is a wholly satisfactory form of government. No sane person believes that a majority is always right. A few well-informed people may advocate a certain policy and it may be a sound and desirable policy. The great mass of people may be uninformed about it and may decide the matter very unwisely. When an issue, perhaps a very complex one requiring careful thought if it is to be understood, comes up for decision, we cannot at all be certain that it will be decided rightly. If we line up the whole population, the intelligent and the unintelligent, the honest and dishonest, the educated and uneducated, the well-informed and the poorly-informed, and count all those who stand for one solution, then count all those who stand for the other solution, and say that the thing which the greatest number want done shall be done, we cannot say that the greatest number will be right any more than we can say that "might makes right."

No Government Is Perfect

It would be better, no doubt, if we could pick out the wisest and most honorable and best-informed of the people and if we would then let them decide all disputed issues. In that case we would no doubt be better governed than we are in a democracy where the wise and honorable and well-informed person has just the same vote that the ignorant or debased fellow has. But those who believe in a democracy are not discouraged by this fact. They say that we have no way to determine who are the wisest and most honest and honorable of our people. No form of government has ever been devised, they say, which will insure that the few people who are most capable of governing shall have the power to govern. We cannot at all be certain that we will be wisely governed if we are governed by monarchies, or by the wealthy, or by those who are descended from a nobility, or by dictators representing capitalists, or dictators representing workers. Democracy is advocated, therefore, not as a form of government which always gives ideal results, but as a kind which is more likely to serve the interests of all the people than is any other form with which we have had any experience.

There is this to be said for democracy, that its object is likely to be the welfare of

all the people. A democratic government may not be efficient and may not serve the interests of all the people very well. But if a government elected by all the people serves the interests of one class of the people, it is likely, after a while, to be rebuked and turned out. Even in a democracy a small clique, a little selfish group, may deceive the people for a while, but after a time it is likely to be found out and driven from power. But if the government is not democratic, if it is ruled by a monarch, or a small group, or some class of the people, it may be very efficient and yet it may be interested in something other than the welfare of all the people. It may be interested in furthering the welfare of the small group which it represents. So a democracy, though not very efficient, may do more for all the people than a very efficient government which is not elected by all the people and which may not have their interests at heart. That is what the Colonial leaders meant at the time of the beginning of the American Revolution when they said that "a fool can put on his own coat better than a wise man can put it on for him." This same thought is sometimes expressed by saying that a snail will reach a certain point sooner than a rabbit will if the snail goes in the direction of the point, and the rabbit goes in a different direction.

Is Democracy Less Efficient?

Are we to assume, however, that democracies are less efficient than other forms of government? Writers on the subject frequently speak as if democracy were particularly inefficient. It is certainly true that masses of people, when called upon to make decisions, often make mistakes. It is also true that congresses and parliaments and legislatures elected by the people are likely not to be made up of the leading political thinkers. When the people select officials, they are likely to select men who are expert politicians—experts in swaying public opinion, in getting out the vote, in lining up different classes of voters, and in other forms of manipulation which politicians know so well how to practice. These congresses and legislatures and parliaments are sometimes slow. They debate questions for a long time. They resort to ineffective compromises. They fail frequently to come to decisions when decisions are needed. They fall far short of doing for the nation they represent what the all-wise and all-powerful ruler might do. But when we compare the work done by governments elected by the people with the

work done by governments under the sway of dictatorships, it is not at all clear that the democratic governments are less wise or less efficient. The governments of the United States, of Great Britain and of France, have done quite a little fumbling in groping with the problems of the depression. That is true. But have the Germans, the Japanese or the Italians handled things better? When all conditions are taken into account, the answer is not at all clear.

Does It Bring Lawlessness?

It is sometimes charged that the people in a democracy are more lawless than the people are under other forms of government. It is said that when the masses of people feel that they themselves are the makers of laws they do not hold law in the same reverence and respect that it is held by populations who see laws placed over them by the strong hands of kings and dictators. The evidence does not seem to bear out that charge. There is, of course, much lawlessness in the United States, more lawbreaking than in any other civilized country, but that appears to be due to a variety of causes, causes so complex that we cannot enter into a discussion of them here. Great Britain, on the other hand, which is also a democracy, is one of the most law-abiding of nations.

A strong feature of democracy lies in the fact that in a democratic country the people change their leaders and their policies without resort to bloodshed. They can do it by means of peaceful elections. When the people of the United States became convinced last year that President Hoover was not handling the problems of the depression to suit them, they put an end to his administration. They did it peacefully by registering their wills at the ballot box. If they decide, three years from now, that President Roosevelt is not handling the problems of the depression well, they can put an end to his administration in the same way. If, on the other hand, a majority of the people of Germany decide that Hitler is not looking after their interests well, they have no way of removing him, except by resort to arms. And the people of Italy cannot put Mussolini and his policies aside by peaceful decision. They cannot do it except by revolution and bloodshed.

Democracy imposes heavy obligations upon the people who adopt it as a form of government. If there is to be government by the people, all the people ought to be interested in the way the government is carried on. They ought to have an active concern about the choice of officials and about the choice of policies. Yet we know that only a small fraction of the people do take the time to inform themselves thoroughly about the problems before their country and their government. Only about half the people vote in the most important elections, and of those who do vote, only a small number have given much time and impartial thought to the problems which are thereby decided at the election. For this reason, many people have supposed that democracies cannot succeed. Certainly they cannot succeed as well as if the citizens were active, alert and well-informed. The failure of citizens to take their responsibilities seriously is a dangerous handicap in every democratic country. Subjects living under a despotism need only to obey, but citizens in a democracy need to make choices, and the country will not get along well if the choices are not thoughtful and intelligent. Democracies get along fairly well, however, even though but a small proportion of the people take an active interest in politics. The explanation is that the average man or woman has a considerable fund of common sense. The average citizen is not very wise, of course, when it comes to the election of leaders, but neither is he very stupid. He cannot be very badly imposed upon, at least not all the time. He has a way of choosing officials who know more about public questions than he does—officials who may not be, and who are not, as a matter of fact, the best which the land affords and which might be chosen, but which are perhaps as good as those which are chosen in undemocratic countries.

Free Speech and Press

We said a while ago that a democracy was a land in which the people decided what should be done, and then we said that it was a land ruled by a majority of the people. Democracy implies, however, a little more than that. Peoples who have adopted democracy have nearly always assumed that to make their democracy complete all people should have a chance to express themselves freely, to argue their points of view, to try to win over majorities. It is not enough that those who constitute a majority today should rule. If there is to be real democracy this majority must allow all the rest of the people to express themselves freely. There must be free speech and free press. At least that is the conception of democracy which has been officially adopted in Great Britain, the United States and France, and other leading democratic lands. In the United

(Concluded on page 6, column 3)



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A REMINDER OF THE DAY OF KINGS

England is one of the world's staunchest democracies, but she still holds to old customs. The horse guards' parade takes place in this day just as it did in centuries past.



The Recovery Program Week by Week



Studies of the Government in Action



LAST week we summed up on this page the progress of the NRA to date. Now we will turn our attention to other sections of the recovery program. Sharing first place in importance with the NRA is the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, known as the AAA. Both participate in the general purposes of the recovery effort: to restore buying power, to create employment, to loosen credit, and to stimulate business activity. The particular aim of the AAA is to raise the prices of farm products. The administration realizes the necessity of putting



APPEAL

Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

Raising Farm Prices

During the special session of Congress called by President Roosevelt last spring the Agricultural Adjustment Act was passed. The law differed from past farm legislation. It attempted to meet the farm problem in a new way, by giving Secretary of Agriculture Wallace almost dictatorial powers to attack the farm crisis along lines which he had suggested. Mr. Wallace set up the AAA with George Peek as administrator.

The AAA plans to raise farm prices so that they will reach their 1914 parity. That means they must be on the same relative level with the prices of other goods, which the farmer buys, as they were in 1914. To accomplish this, the tremendous oversupply of agricultural products must be reduced. For several years we have grown more cotton, wheat, corn, and hogs than the United States alone can use. The domestic market cannot consume the surpluses which have accumulated. Our former foreign market has almost disappeared.

The program of the AAA, then, requires crop reduction. So far three principal methods of approach have been used to cut production of farm goods. The first is the leasing of farm lands by the government. The AAA proposed agreements between individual farmers and the government, under which the farmer would let a part of his fields lie fallow, producing none of the basic commodities. The government pays him a subsidy on this land, in return for his concession. This plan fits into the scheme for crop reduction secured through processing taxes, the second step in the program.

In the second method, the farmer gives his county agent a record of his production for the last five years. Then he signs an agreement with the government to reduce his planted acreage by not less than twenty per cent during 1934 and 1935. Let us take a wheat farmer as an example. In return for his contract cutting his wheat output by one-fifth, the government pays him twenty-eight cents for every bushel which the fallow land would have produced if planted.

Processing Tax Payments

This plan has already gone into effect for wheat and cotton. It is beginning now for corn and hogs, to take effect in 1934. As a result of the wheat program, the contracting farmers have agreed to reduce their plantings by 7,800,000 acres in 1934. Eighty per cent of all the wheat acreage in the United States is represented in the contracts which have been signed. More than \$100,000,000 is being paid directly to the farmers for this agreement, \$70,000,000 of which has already been sent to the wheat-growers. The money for these payments comes from a processing tax on wheat. A tax of thirty cents a bushel is paid by the processors, who mill the wheat into flour. Because these millers enjoy what amounts to monopoly control over the use of the wheat supply, the government expects them to absorb some of the tax through operating economies. The balance of the added price will be passed on to consumers. This means that people in the cities must pay more for wheat, cotton, and other products subject to the processing tax. The administration expects that the industrial population will be able to pay higher prices because of benefits received from the NRA.

The entire program of crop reduction and processing taxes is intended to give more money to the farmer. Farm purchasing power is thus directly aided; later, when production cuts have taken full effect, it is expected that farm prices will rise. Then the farmer should have the advantage he possessed in 1914. The prices he gets for his goods will be on a parity level with other prices, so that he can purchase as much manufactured goods as he did before the war.

That is the theory behind the crop reduction idea. It is a cooperative movement. Industrial producers can cut the supply of their goods through agreement

in their trade associations, so that the danger of an oversupply is decreased. Farmers have been unable to do this previously, because there were so many thousands of them, all operating individually. Farm coöperatives were unsuccessful in the past because, in the words of Mr. Peek, "members of these associations have always found that by withholding supply they were merely holding an umbrella over the nonmembers." With eighty or ninety per cent of the farmers joining in the government plans, this weakness may be avoided. The farmer who refuses to coöperate in crop reduction may produce as much as he pleases, but he will receive no checks from the government. The government is not telling the farmers what they can or cannot grow or sell, but is making it profitable for them to participate in a planned agricultural economy.



RESISTANCE

Corn and Hog Benefits

The program for corn and hogs, commodities between which there is a close relationship, calls for reduction of twenty-five per cent in the number of hogs marketed and of twenty per cent in the acreage of corn. The plan proposes to pay \$350,000,000 to farmers between now and February 1, 1935, through processing taxes on pork and corn. The farmer will receive thirty cents a bushel for the average production on the acres taken out of corn. Twenty cents is paid as soon as the contract is accepted.

Growers of flue-cured tobacco, which is used in making cigarettes, have produced this year's crop under reduction contracts. At the present level of prices they will receive approximately \$110,000,000 for the crop, plus \$10,000,000 in adjustment payments. This compares with a total of \$43,000,000 for the 1932 crop and \$56,000,000 for the 1931 crop.

The third method of AAA procedure is that of marketing agreements. The government deals with marketing agents, asking them to pay higher prices to farmers for their goods. Through these contracts the tobacco manufacturing companies agreed to pay a higher price for the 1933 crop. Marketing agreements have also been of great value in the dairy industry. For more than two years milk prices have been falling in the areas which serve our large cities. The farmers were paid less and less. Milk strikes and widespread disagreements followed.

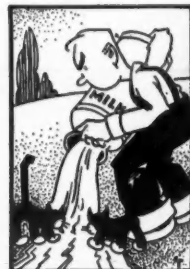
The primary purpose of the marketing agreements is to increase the price paid to producers, taking care at the same time that consumers are protected against unwarranted increases. The large dairy companies are the marketing agencies concerned, and usually they have been required to take a smaller margin between buying and selling price. Agreements have been signed for the dairy industries in Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Minneapolis and St. Paul, Knoxville, Baltimore, Boston, New Orleans, and Des Moines. Others are under way.

Marketing Dairy Products

What is the effect of the AAA program on farm prices so far? It is impossible to isolate all the factors which affect those prices, but we can find out what the trend has been. Prices of farm products had declined further than the prices of other products in the three years prior to March of this year. Since that time they advanced forty-six per cent from their low point to a July peak, but since then they have lost a fairly large part of that gain. The market prices of farm products rose from fifty-seven per cent of the pre-war average in February to eighty per cent in September. This advance was more rapid than that made by other commodities, but the prices of farm goods in relation to pre-war is still lower than prices for any other specified group of commodities. The farmer finds that there is still a gap between what he gets and what he has to pay.

Secretary Wallace estimates that farm incomes have increased by one-third during the last six months. That leaves considerable ground yet to be covered. The nation's monetary policy will probably have some effect on farm prices. The administration hopes to bring them back to normal by the combination of the AAA program with the depreciation of the dollar. At the same time, the Department of Agriculture states that urban incomes have increased seventeen per cent in recent months. The AAA leaders believe this factor is helping to create added domestic demand for farm goods. They are urging farmers to act collectively with the government to cut production and secure higher prices, rather than to engage in futile farm strikes or to demand price-fixing which might be impossible to maintain.

Refinancing mortgages and other debts of the farmer is a function of the Department of Agriculture, but is not the concern of the AAA. The farm and home loan corporations handle this part of the program.



PROTEST



DIVIDEND

Something to Think About

1. What do you consider the strong points in favor of democracy as a form of government? What are some of the weaknesses of democracy? Do you think these weaknesses can be remedied?
2. Read the editorial on page four entitled "Faith in Democracy" and then decide whether or not you believe in full and complete democracy, involving as it does freedom of press and speech, or whether you believe in restricted democracy—ruled by a majority, but with the understanding that minorities advocating unpopular causes shall not have the opportunities of free public discussion.
3. How should training for citizenship be different in a democracy from what it is under a dictatorship?
4. Write out, or state clearly, the argument to the effect that Congress has power, under the commerce clause of the Constitution, to do the things which it has undertaken to do through the enactment of the National Recovery Act. State the view to the effect that Congress has not this power.
5. What is meant by the "due process of law" clause of the Constitution? How might it affect the decision as to the constitutionality of the NRA?
6. With which of the great forces in American political life, those calling for greater governmental control and those calling for less governmental control, do you agree? Why?

7. How might the NRA program conceivably be carried out legally even if the decision of the Supreme Court should be against it? Do you think it likely that such a thing would happen?

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PRONUNCIATIONS: Reich (rikh—i as in time), von Hindenburg (fon hin'den-boorg), Fiorello LaGuardia (fee-o-rel'lo la gwar'dee-a—a as in final), Hilaire Belloc (hil-air' bel'ok—i as in hit, o as in on), Goering (gur'ing—u as in burn), Santiago (sahn-tee-ah'go), Buenos Aires (Spanish—bway'nos i'res—i as in time, e as in met), Grau San Martin (grow—ow as in how, sahn mar-teen').